

## Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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-----221927Z 013340 /42  
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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 267

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 0410

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E.O. 11652 XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR JO PLO XF  
SUBJECT: TALK WITH KING--AREA SITUATION

SUMMARY: KING HUSSEIN TOLD PLO LEADERS VISITING AMMAN THAT HE ACCEPTS POSSIBILITY OF DIALOGUE WITH PLO, BUT THERE CAN BE NO DISCUSSIONS OF CROSS BORDER OPERATIONS AGAINST ISRAEL FROM JORDAN PLO POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN EAST BANK OR PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES DIRECTED BY THEM FROM EAST BANK TO WEST BANK DISSIDENTS. KING BELIEVES AIR CLEARED SOMEWHAT BY INITIALLY HEATED EXCHANGES, AND HE FOUND PNC HEAD FAHUM IMPRESSIVE. KING HUSSEIN CONSIDERS DOOR OPEN FOR ANOTHER MEETING AT PLO'S INITIATIVE. HE EXPECTS PLO TO CONSIDER THAT PROSPECTS AT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING IN DAMASCUS SHORTLY AND AT FEBRUARY CAIRO MEETING OF PNC. HE ADDED THAT 100 PALESTINIANS FROM EAST BANK WOULD BE INVITED TO PNC MEETING (ALONG WITH MORE FROM GULF STATES AND OCCUPIED WEST BANK/GAZA--LATTER WOULD BE KEPT SECRET AND NOT ATTEND). EAST BANK DELEGATES WOULD FACE JORDAN WITH PROBLEM ABOUT THEIR POLITICAL STATUS AS JORDANIAN CITIZENS. ON LARGER QUESTION OF JORDANS ROLE IN CURRENT PEACE OFFENSIVE, KING HUSSEIN DESCRIBED HIS DILEMMA OF ON ONE HAND AVOIDING OVERINVOLVEMENT THAT MIGHT LEAVE HIM WITH BLAME

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FOR WEST BANK COMPROMISES AND ON OTHER HAND OF DOING WHAT HE CAN TO MOVE PEACE PROCESS FURTHER AND PROTECT JORDANS INTERESTS IN IT. HE IS UNSURE OF EGYPTS PRUPOSES IN PUSHING FOR GREATER JORDANIAN ROLE NOW. KING HUSSEIN LOOKS FORWARD TO SECRETARY VANCE VISIT TO ENSURE CAREFUL WEIGHING OF ALL VIEWS AND OPTIONS AND NOT FREEZE POSITIONS. HE SENSES TIME

IS RIPE FOR MORE ACTIVE ROLE BY JORDAN IN PEACE PROCESS.  
BUT HE APPRICIATES ENORMOUS PITFALLS AHEAD FOR REGION  
AND HIS OWN POSITION AND INTENTD S TO PROCEED WITH  
CARE AND CLOSE COORDINATION WITH US. END SUMMARY

1. WHEN I SAY KING JANUARY 22 I RAISED WITH HIM THE  
BEGINNING DIALOGUE WHICH HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED BETWEEN  
JORDAN AND THE PLO.

2. THE KING EXPLAINED THAT KHALID FAHUM HEAD OF THE  
PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL(PNC) HAD COME TO AMMAN IN THE  
CONTEST OF AN INTER-ARAB PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE.  
HE LED PLO DELEGATION TO THE CONFERNECE. KING HAD  
INVITED ALL DELGATION HEADS TO MEET WITH HIM. KHALID  
FAHUM WAS JOINED BY HANI AL HASSAN PLO POLITICAL  
ADVISOR WHO ALSO WAS A MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION.  
THE TWO SAY HIM TOGETER WITHOUT ANY OF THE OTHER  
MEMBERS OF THE PLO "PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION" PRESENT.

3. THE KING SAID THE MEETING QUICKLY GOT AROUND TO  
THE QUESTION OF A LIALOGUE BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE  
PLO. THE KING SAID HE ACCEPTED THE POSSIBILITY OF A  
CONTINUING DIALUGE BUT MADE IT CLEAR TO THE PLO IN  
ADVANCE THAT THERE WOULD BE ABSOUTELY NO DISCUSSION  
PERMITTED OF THE SUBJECTS WHICH LED GO THT DEVELOP  
MENT OF FIGHTING BETWEEN JORDA AND THE PLO IN 1970.  
BY THIS THE KING SAID HE MEANT THAT HE WOULD ABSOLUTELY  
NOT ENTERTAIN ANY IDEA OF THE PLO BEING PERMITTED TO  
RETURN TO JORDAN TO CONDUCT CROSS BORDER OPERATIONS

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AGAINST ISRAEL. FURTHER HE WOULD NOT ALLOW THEM TO  
CARRY OUT POLITICAL ACTI ITIES IN THE EAST BANK OF  
JORDAN OR TO DISSEMINATE PROPAGANDA FROM THE EAST BANK  
DESIGNED TO WIN OVER ADHERENTS ON THE WEST BANK. THE  
KING ALSO SAID THERE HD BEEN A FRANK AND SOMEWHAT  
HEATED EXCHANGE ON BOTH SIDES OF PAST DEVELOPMENTS  
BETWEEN THE PLO AND JORDAN WHICH HAD THE EFFECT OF  
CLEAINR GHT AIR AND OPEING THE WAY FOR THE FUTURE.

4. HUSSEIN MENTIONED TO ME THAT HE WAS IMPRESSED BY  
KHALID FAHUM WHO HE TOOK TO BE A FAIR AND HONEST  
MAN. FAHUM WAS DIRECT, CIVIL AND BOTH SOPHISTICATED  
AND INTELLIGENT IN HIS DISCUSSION. THE KING THINKS  
A GREAT DEAL DIFFERENTLY ABOUT HANI AL HASSAN.  
HANI HAD ATTACHED HIMSELF TO THE MEETING AT THE LAST  
MOMENT APPARENTLY PROVOKING AN UNHAPPY REACTION AMONG  
THE OTHER PALESTINIANS IN THE DELEGATION WHO WERE EXCLUDED  
FROM MEETING. FURTHER AFTER  
THE INITIAL MEETING HANI AL HASSAN

HAD SENT WORK SURREPTITIOUSLY AND SECRETLY TO THE KING OF HIS DESIRE FOR ANOTHER PRIVATE MEETING. IN ADDITION HANI AL HASSAN FURTHER BROUGHT "GREETINGS" FROM THE KINGS "BROTHER" ARAFAT. THE KINGS REPLY TO HASSANS SECRET ENTREATIES WAS THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO MEET OUTSIDE CONTEXT IN WHICH HASSAN CAME-- PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION--DURING HIS VISIT.

5. THE KING SAID HE THEREBY LEAVES THE WAY OPEN FOR ANOTHER VISIT AND EXPECTS THE THE NEXT STEP IN THE DIALOGUE WHICH HAS NOT REALLY BEGUN IS TO WAIT FOR ANOTHER APPROACH FROM HANI AL HASSAN FOR A MEETING.

6. THE KING TOLD ME THAT HE NOW UNDERSTANDS THE PLO WILL BE CONSIDERING FURTHER THE WHOLE QUESTION OF A DIALOGUE WITH JORDAN AT A MEETING TO BE HELD IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS IN DAMASCUS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
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AND SUBSEQUENTLY AT A MID-FEBRUARY MEETING IN CAIRO OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE PLO. THE KING SAID THERE WILL BE 100 NEW MEMBERS OF THE NPC NAMED FROM THE EAST BANK AND 50 FROM THE WEST BANK WITH MORE FROM GAZA AND THE GULF STATES. PRIOR TO THE MEETING HEADI OF JORDANS NPC WHO WAS WAITING IN KINGS OUTER OFFICE TOLD ME THE 75 MEMBERS TO BE NAMED FROM GAZA AND THE WEST BANK WOULD BE KEPT SECRET AND NOT ATTEND THE CAIRO MEETING. THE KING SAID HE FACED CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES ABOUT DECIDING WHETHER THE 100 FROM THE EAST BANK SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO GO PARTICULARLY IF THE PALESTINIANS FORM A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. THE ATTENDANCE OF THESE 100 AS MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT OF ANOTHER GOVERNMENT WOULD RAISE QUESTION THAT HE WOULD PREFER NOT TO HAVE TO DEAL WITH NOW ABOUT THE STATUS OF PALESTINIANS IN JORDAN, THEIR RIGHTS TO VOTE AND SO FORTH SINCE HE COULD NOT VERY EASILY ALLOW THE PALESTINIANS PARLIAMENTARIES TO BE ALSO MEMBERS OF JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT

7. WE THEN DISCUSSED IN MORE GENERAL WAY THE SITUATION IN THE AREA. THE KING CLEARLY FINDS HIMSELF FACED WITH DILEMMA. ON ONE HAND HE DOES NOT WANT TO BECOME SO INVOLVED WITHOUT A CAREFUL AND MEASURED APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION TH HE ENDS UP ACCEPTING ALL RESPONSIBILITY AND ACHIEVING NOTHING FOR HIMSELF. ON THE OTHER HE FEELS KEENLY AN OBLIGATION AND INDEED A HIGH RESPONSIBILITY TO DO WHATEVER HE CAN TO MOVE AHEAD ON THE PEACE PROCESS AND FURTHER TO SEE HOW HE CAN IMPROVE JORDANS INTEREST AND POSITION THEREBY.

THE KINGS CALLS THIS WHOLE PROBLEM A NEW AND  
DANGEROUS MINE FIELD.

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7. ONE OF HIS DILEMMAS IS WHAT EGYPT WANTS  
SADAT PRESSED HARD AT THEIR LAST MEETING FOR AN  
EARLY DIALGUE BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE PLO TO WORK  
OUT THEIR FUTURE RELATIONSHIP NOW FOR THE PERIOD AFTER THE  
PLO IS ABLE TO ACHIEVE SOME  
SORT OF INDEPENDENT STATUS ON THE EAST BANK.  
THE KING SAYS SADAT BELIEVES THIS IS THE KEY TO HAVING JORDAN  
NEGOTIATE THE RETURN OF THE WEST BANK AND THEREBY MAKE IT  
EASIER FOR THE ISRAELIS TO GO BACK TO GENEVA.  
HOWEVER SADAT ACCEPTED ALL OF THE JORDANIAN  
LANGUAGE WHI IS INCONSISTENT WITH SUCH AN  
APPROACH IN THE JOING COMMUNIQUE AND THE KING IS  
NOT REALLY SURE WHAT SADAT REALLY WANTS OR WHAT HE MIGHT  
BE DOING.

8. WITH REGARD TO THE PLO THE KING SAYS HE IS NOT  
CERTAIN WHETHER THE PLO WOULD BE WILLING TO ENGAGE  
ITSELF WITHIN A JORDANIAN DELEGATION AT GENEVA AND  
IF SO WHAT KING OF RESPONSIBILITY THEY WOULD REALLY BE  
WILLING TO GIVE HIM.

9. AS WE TALKED I DEVELOPED SEVERAL THEMES FOR THE  
KING WHICH I SAID PERSONALLY I HOPED HE WOULD KEEP  
IN MIND. ONE WAS TO REPEAT AGAIN WHAT I HAVE  
SAID IN THE PAST ABOUT THE NEED FOR JORDAN TO LOOK

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RESPONSIBLY AT WHAT IT COULD DO TO GET THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING GOING AND TO SEE THAT THE PROCESS MOVES AHEAD IN A CONSTRUCTIVE AND CONCILIATORY WAY. SECONDLY I TOLD THE KING THAT WHATEVER HE DID I KNEW THAT HE WOULD WANT TO BE CLOSEST TOUCH WITH US AND WE WOULD ALL WANT TO INSURE THAT THE PACE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND AMONG THE ARAB STATES WHO WERE OUR CLOSE FRIENDS STAYED IN SOME SORT OF SYNCHRONIZATION. I SAID TO HIM THAT BY THAT I MEANT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR HIM TO FREEZE THE JORDANIANS POSITION FAR IN ADVANCE OF HIS UPCOMING DISCUSSION WITH US. THIS IS TRUE BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT WE WOULD WANT TO EIGHT CAREFULLY BOTH HIS OWN VIEWS AND OTHERS IN THE ARAB WORLD AND POSSIBLY MAKE SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE. THE KING SAID HE WOULD BE VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO SECRETARY'S VANCE'S TRIP TO THE AREA FOR JUST THIS PURPOSE HE SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE IS A NEED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH TO COORDINATE OUR IDEAS FOR THE FUTURE.

10. COMMENT: KING VIEWS THE NEXT COUPLE OF MONTHS WITH A MIXTURE OF JOYFUL ANTICIPATION AND REAL TREPIDATION. HE KNOWS THAT HE HAS TO STAY IN CLOSEST TOUCH WITH SYRIA AND EGYPT. INDEED HE TOLD ME THAT HE WILL TACTICALLY WANT TO PLAY HIS HAND IN RESPONSE TO WHAT WILL APPEAR TO BE PRESSURE AND SUPPORT FROM THEM TO MOVE MORE CLOSELY IN TO THE PEACE PROCESS THAN HE HAS BEEN BEFORE. HE SEES ENORMOUS PITFALLS IN GETTING OUT TOO FAR AHEAD AND THEREBY ALLOWING THE PLO AGAIN TO OPEN UP IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO DESTROY HIS RELATIONS IN THE ARAB WORLD AS THEY HAVE IN THE PAST. HE WILL ALSO WANT TO STAY IN TUNE AND IN TOUCH WITH US. WHILE HE KNOWS AND UNDERSTANDS THAT VERY EARLY DISCUSSIONS OF OUR OWN APPROACH IS PROBABLY NOT POSSIBLE, HE WILL BE ALERT TO AND RESPONSE TO WHATEVER SIGNALS HE IS SENT. IN THIS CONNECTION,  
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FORMER PRIME MINISTER RIFAI HAS RETURNED FROM THE US WITH THE CONCLUSION THAT THE PLO WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO ATTEND GENEVA AT LEAST AT THE OPENING. THIS SEEMS FROM ALL REPORTING WE HAVE HAD TO HAVE ENCOURAGED THE KING TO BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE ABOUT HIS PAST REFUSALS TO ATTEND GENEVA IN A ROLE WHICH WOULD HAVE HIM NEGOTIATE FOR THE RETURN OF THE WEST BANK, AT THE SAME TIME HE SEEMS ALSO TO HAVE ACCEPTED RIFAIS SUGGESTION THAT HE BEGIN A DIALOGUE WITH PLO TO SEE

WHAT KING OF A NEGOTIATING ROLE FOR HIM CAN BE WORKED  
OUT WITH THAT GROUP AS LONG AS THE KING PROCEEDS  
ALONG THIS TRACK WITH CARE AN CIRCUMSPECTION AND  
SOME SENSE OF THE NEED FOR CAREFUL HANDLING OF THE ARAB  
SIDE OF THE EQUATION, WE DO NOT BELIEVE FROM HERE  
THAT HE WILL OVERCOMMIT HIMSELF IN ANY PARTICULAR  
DIRECTION. HE SENSES KEENLY THE NEED FOR THE MOST  
CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE TIMING OF ANY STEPS HE  
MIGHT TAKE. HE WILL NOT OF COURSE WANT TO TAKE ANY  
STEPS IN THIS PROCESS NOW WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE A RATHER  
FULL MEASURE OF OUR SUPPORT AND APPROVAL.  
END COMMENT.  
PICKERING

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